CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

SPEECH

OF

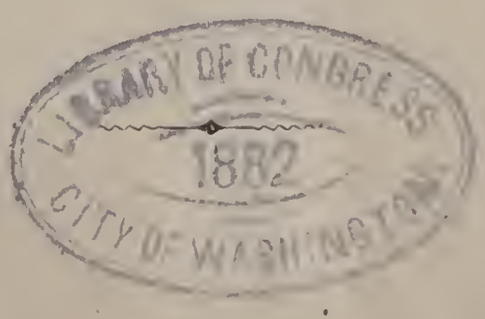
HON. JOHN P. JONES,

OF NEVADA,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

THURSDAY, MARCH 9, 1882.



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The Senate having under consideration the bill (S. No. 71) to enforce treaty stipulations relating to the Chinese—

Mr. JONES, of Nevada, said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: Such has been the advance of public sentiment on this question in the last ten years, since the people of the Pacific coast, with scarcely a following in any portion of the country, first presented it as a national issue, that I have in this debate been content up to this time to remain silent and hear those defend our position in this body who a few years ago were against us. In an elaborate way some three years ago, when a bill similar to the present was under discussion here, I presented my views in favor of it. That bill was passed by Congress, but was vetoed by the Executive because it was obnoxious to some of the terms of a treaty existing at that time. Happily a new treaty has since been made, the terms of which are not in conflict with the provisions of the bill under discussion.

I have been waiting up to this hour in the discussion to hear some good reason why this bill should not be passed. I listened with great pleasure to the speech of the Senator from Massachusetts, [Mr. HOAR,] and was quite bewildered with the statement made by him that there existed a right, a great organic and fundamental right, entitling individuals of every other nationality to come to this country at will, and that we had no right to prevent them. He stated this proposition as confidently as though its correctness were universally recognized.

Mr. President, what nation has ever admitted that right? What nation on the face of the earth has ever ceased to claim the right to decide who shall form the body of its citizenship, who shall be admitted into its society, who shall come within its jurisdiction? I have looked in vain to find a single nation that has acted thus. It might be thought that some eminent writer on moral, political, or international law had stated in clear terms some proposition resembling that which the honorable Senator has here put forth. But I have been unable to find a single writer who has made any such assertion in any work which would be regarded as a standard authority. Yet the statement is as confidently made as if it were axiomatic.

The Senator from Massachusetts informs us that the Declaration of Independence, made by the most religious men of the most religious period in our history, asserts this doctrine, in face of the fact that there were at least six hundred thousand of the human race in slavery in this country when the signers of that document declared

that all men were created equal and had certain inalienable rights, among which were life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The charge of untruthfulness and cowardice would lie against them if, having intended to include the slaves in the category of "all men," they made no special protest against slavery as it then existed in this country, nor any recommendation that the slaves should be set free.

It might be answered to this that it would have been injurious to the slave and unjust to the master to do so. But the framers of the Constitution, many of whom signed the Declaration of Independence, not only did not free the slaves then in the country, but they extended the time for twenty years when negroes might be brought into our ports and consigned to slavery. Yet the Senator tells us that the authors of the Declaration of Independence intended to say that all men of all races were equal, and that they were entitled to come to this country at their own pleasure, and that this nation had no right whatever to prevent them.

Therefore I think the Senator from Massachusetts fails to sustain his case in citing from the Declaration of Independence the proposition that all men are created equal and are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They are entitled to liberty, but under what condition? Is it the liberty to live where they are, to enjoy the proceeds of their own labor, to have the care of their own families? What is this liberty? The Declaration of Independence does not define it.

Then the Senator, speaking one hundred years after the Declaration of Independence, informs us what the signers of that document meant to assert. But let us see the opinion of one of the most distinguished names to that declaration; a man who is regarded in New England as the wisest man of all his day and generation; a man who perhaps was better known in both hemispheres than any other man connected with Revolutionary times; a man of whom the elder Pitt said, before the American Revolution, that he was "an honor not only to England but to human nature," and of whom Mirabeau said, in announcing his death to the French Assembly, that he was "the genius which freed America and has shed a flood of light over Europe." When writing generally on political economy and upon the rights of a nation to decide who shall come within its borders and what their general legislation should be, he said:

> There is, in short, no bound to the prolific nature of plants or animals but what is made by their crowding and interfering with each other's means of subsistence. Was the face of the earth vacant of other plants, it might be gradually sowed and overspread with one kind only, as, for instance, with fennel; and, were it empty of other inhabitants, it might in a few ages be replenished from one nation only, as, for instance, with Englishmen. Thus there are supposed to be now upward of one million English souls in North America, (though it is thought scarce eighty thousand have been brought over sea.)
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> The number of purely white people in the world is proportionately very small. All Africa is black or tawny; Asia, chiefly tawny; America, (exclusive of the new-comers,) wholly so.
>
> While we are, as I may call it, scouring our planet by clearing America of woods, and so making this side of our globe reflect a brighter light to the eyes of inhabitants in Mars or Venus, why should we, in the sight of superior beings, darken its people? Why increase the sons of Africa by planting them in America, where we have so fair an opportunity, by excluding all blacks and tawnies, of increasing the lovely white and red?

These are the sentiments of Benjamin Franklin, as he himself declared them. Here he not only asserts the right but the duty of excluding the tawny and the black races, in order that our own race may be kept intact and uncontaminated, and that our own civilization may be preserved in its integrity.

I for one cannot conceive that a nation has not the right to exclude from its shores whatever the mass of its people shall believe injurious to its welfare. Whenever it abdicates this, it abdicates the very highest function of government and betrays the most essential duties for which organized societies are called into existence. Whenever this country believes that the incoming of a race or any portion of a race is inimical to the best interests of our people, then the time has come and the power is inherent to remedy the threatened evil.

The Senator, to sustain his position, next quotes from the Holy Scriptures the passage that God made of one blood all the nations of the earth; and the Senator maintains that all men of every race have the right to come and go and intermingle without let or hinderance. Now, that is the only text to be found in the Scriptures that has any reference to anthropology or ethnology, and I think that the Senator's support for his doctrine of ethnology is as faulty as his logic. Unfortunately for him the original Greek Testament contains no word corresponding to the word "blood" in the authorized version. The Catholic Church from the time of St. Jerome never used this word, and it does not occur in the revised edition recently published. The language there used is that God "made of one every nation of men," not of "one blood," but of one form perhaps; so that there is no warrant for the use of the word "blood" upon which this whole ethnological controversy is made to turn.

I have no time nor inclination to discuss the proposition laid down by the Senator [Mr. HAWLEY] who last spoke, and by other Senators, concerning the duties of nations and individuals as contradistinguished from the rights as limited by their powers. The rights we have practically to deal with are those defined and secured by law in different countries. Theoretical writers find in an imaginary state of nature the source of political and social rights. But man has never been found except as connected with some tribe or nation, and his rights as affected by that connection are the only ones he really possesses. They are controlled by the power of which law is the expression, and to attempt to describe any other species of right is to become hopelessly involved in an abstract and useless discussion. We have to apply at last the principle of power as formulated in the law of each country, and the law so framed is the only right we can have so long as it remains unchanged.

Who can doubt that the European nations had a right to drive the Indians back and take possession of the soil? The Catholic powers of Europe believed that the Pope, disregarding all rights on the part of the Indians, had a right to distribute this vast territory as he saw proper. In this country we have great Indian reservations of seventy, eighty, and one hundred miles square, reservations which we have set apart for the use and occupancy of the Indians. In most of these reservations the white men of this country have no right to set a foot. Now, if there be a great, inherent, fundamental right that the people of all foreign countries may come here at will, and that we have no right to stop them, how is it that we can prevent our own people from entering upon an Indian reservation? Simply on the principle that it is better for the Indian and better for the whites that we should do so. In dealing with foreign immigration the only question we have to consider is what is best for our own race. The earth, from time immemorial, has been occupied by various nations, and these nations in dealing with each other have been compelled to treat their respective governments, advanced or backward as they might be, as each supreme in the management of their internal af-

fairs, and each entitled to take care of their own people in their own way. Every writer on international law agrees that no nation can afford to indulge in the instincts of benevolence; that its entire legislation must be based upon the good that may come to its own people.

Now, to turn to another branch of this discussion. The general question is asked, "Is this superior race of ours afraid of the competition with this inferior Chinese race?"

What are the real facts of the case, and why do our people fear Chinese immigration? I can best illustrate the subject in the concrete. I recollect one time in Virginia City, Nevada, that a miner who was working a thousand feet underground in the mines came to me and said:

You do not fully understand this Chinese immigration and the effect it has upon us; you do not thoroughly comprehend what it means when applied to us. You feel perfectly secure in your position as the superintendent of a large number of men; and it is immaterial to you, as far as your own position is concerned, who the workmen may be that are under your control; but to us it makes a vast difference. I work a thousand feet underground. I go every morning and take my lantern a thousand feet from the cheery light of day, and work hard all day for $4. On that hillside there is a little cottage in which my wife and four children live. The forces of our civilization have, in the struggle for an adequate remuneration to labor, given me enough to support that wife and those children in the decency and comfort in which you see them now. I have separate rooms in which the children may sleep; my wife must be clothed so that she does not feel ashamed in mixing with her neighbors; the children must be clothed as befits decency and order and the grade of civilization in which we live, and we must have a variety of food to which we have been accustomed and a taste for which we have inherited from our ancestors. The Chinaman can do as much work underground as I can. While my work is very arduous I go to it with a light heart and perform it cheerfully because it enables me to support my wife and my children. I am in hopes to bring up my daughters to be good wives and faithful mothers, and to offer my sons better opportunities in life than I had myself. I cheerfully contribute to the support of schools, churches, charitable institutions, and other objects that enter into our daily life, but after I have maintained my family and performed these duties not much is left of my wages when the week is ended.

How is it with the Chinaman? He has no wife and family. He performs none of these duties. Forty or fifty of his kind can live in a house no larger than mine. He craves no variety of food. He has inherited no taste for comfort or for social enjoyment. Conditions that satisfy him and make him contented would make my life not worth living.

Does it surprise you that under these conditions I shall be driven out of employment by the Chinaman? And when that happens what shall I do, and where shall I go? Philanthropists complacently advise us to seek some other field of labor; and suppose I do this, will the Chinese be less able to drive me out of that new field than he has been to drive me out of this? And, besides that, how can I go? Suppose I give up my home here, how shall I meet the expenses of moving and securing a new shelter for my family? Why, the philanthropists might as well advise me to start a banking-house or a wholesale dry-goods store. Like little Joe, in Bleak House, the Chinaman is the policeman that chivies me and makes me move on, because he is able and willing to do as much work as I can for the smallest amount that will support animal life. I am as hardy as any of my fellows, and the same conditions that drive me out of employment will drive every other man in my situation out of employment.

You have got some thousands of workmen here in exactly the same position I am. When these are driven out, what will be the situation? You have a society now that is governed by patriotic instincts; a society that maintains civil government; maintains schools and churches and all the institutions of civilization; all around you are the houses of American workmen whom you know, whose language you understand, whose traditions, hopes, and fears are common to our race, whose gods are your gods, and whose affections are your affections. What will you have in their place? Instead of them you will have Chinese hovels, Chinese huts everywhere, and instead of an American civilization you will have got a Chinese civilization, with all its degrading accessories, precisely as you might find it in China. Around you would be a population of Chinese, with Chinese tastes, Chinese language, and Chinese customs.

By the genius of our people and by the aid of the machinery which we have invented it has been made possible for the American workman to have a certain

share of the products of industry which is much larger than in any other country. Without contributing anything toward this the Chinaman comes in, taking advantage of our skill and of our toil and of our struggles, and drives us from the fields of industry which we have created and which our race alone could create.

Mr. President, that is exactly what has happened in San Francisco. One after another the whites have been driven out of employment by the Chinese in various branches of industry. It is no answer to say that the average rate of wages in San Francisco is up to or above the rate of wages in the Eastern States. The American workman has found out that no matter what rate he proposes to work for, the Chinaman will put his rate just enough below to secure the employment. He is too good a trader to put it any lower than is necessary to drive out his American competitor.

The main objection to the incoming of the Chinese cannot be brought against Europeans of our own race and nearly related to us. They soon assimilate with us, they are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, and have hopes, fears, and traditions identical with our own. They readily adopt our manners, customs, and language, and soon become an undistinguishable part of our body-politic.

And, sir, it must be remembered in this connection that it was not we alone who achieved independence. The principles which nerved those who fought for liberty in this country were principles that had been fought for long before the Declaration of Independence. Not all the lovers of liberty came over in the Mayflower. The people in every country in Europe have struggled for liberty on every battle-field from Marston Moor to Magenta. They have our instincts; they have our tastes. Their God is our God. They are inherently lovers of liberty. They have been struggling for it throughout the centuries, and it was the public opinion there, the great mass of the people sympathizing with us, that helped us in a large measure to achieve the liberty we now enjoy.

When and where did the Chinese race ever make a single declaration for liberty? When and where did they strike one single blow for freedom or free institutions? Why, sir, races are not instructed in self-government in an hour, nor in a single generation, nor in a single century. The capacity for self-government is the result of the teaching of generations, and the United States is the last and best fruit of a struggle that has been waged by the Caucasian race for thirty centuries in favor of freedom, in which the Chinese have borne no part. Every fiber in their heart, every corpuscle in their blood has been molded in the spirit of despotism under which they have lived uncomplainingly.

According to the latest estimates there are 450,000,000 of that race, trained like athletes against poverty, living in the very face of starvation, and consequently living on the very edges and in the very conditions of crime. I state it as a philosophic fact that whoever lives the best is the most civilized and the most moral, and whenever you approach the place where a struggle is made against starvation, there you approach the conditions where crime is most prevalent.

The Chinese people have lived in this condition, which conduces to crime, for almost unnumbered centuries. History, written and monumental, shows that the Chinese Empire substantially as it exists to-day antedates the pyramids, antedates the law written on the tablets of stone. And these are the people that the Senator from Massachusetts in a single generation is going to make good citizens! These people, indurated and buried under fifty centuries of stagnation, petrified in oppressive forms and oppressive systems, are to be made

good citizens of the United States in one single generation! To demonstrate this, he takes some one of the meek-eyed Chinamen who are studying in Massachusetts and tells us how intelligent and lovable he was. Everybody understands that, to deal philosophically with race distinction, the exception must be excluded. You cannot take some exceptional individual and judge of his whole race by him. You must take into consideration the history and characteristics of a whole race if you hope to deal intelligently with its possibilities.

What, then, I ask has been the contribution from China? Oppression, barbarism, degradation. A civilization purely material, nothing spiritual about it; everything commutable in money; no injury that a man can inflict on a Chinaman that he is not willing to take a money compensation for; no sensibility to be ruffled, no honor to be outraged. I do not speak of individuals, but I speak of the race.

When I had occasion the other day to say that civilization owes nothing to the Chinese as a race in the way of invention, I thought it was received in rather a sneering way by the honorable Senator from Massachusetts. He taunted me with the question who those people were who had invented the mariner's compass and gunpowder, two of the most potent agencies in civilization, and I denied that the Chinese were the inventors. I have had occasion to examine and discover, if possible, the foundations upon which rested the claim—by many believed in—that the Chinese had made these discoveries, and I found that the evidence was conclusive against any such claim. In the Intellectual Development of Europe, by Professor Draper, I find the following passages:

> The practical Arabs had not long been engaged in these fascinating but wild pursuits when results of very great importance began to appear. In a scientific point of view, the discovery of the strong acids laid the true foundation of chemistry; in a political point of view, the invention of gunpowder revolutionized the world. (Page 303.)

In the same book he says:

> They, that is the Arabs, also introduced inventions of a more ominous kind—gunpowder and artillery. The cannon they used appears to have been made of wrought-iron. But perhaps they more than compensated for these evil contrivances by the introduction of the mariner's compass. (Page 357.)

To turn to a still higher authority, I find in the Congressional Library volume 6 of the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in which Mr. W. F. Mayers, lately Chinese secretary to the British legation at Peking, and one of the most critical Chinese scholars that ever lived, treats of "the introduction and use of gunpowder and fire-arms among the Chinese." After noticing the Chinese authorities on the subject, Mr. Mayers sums up (page 82) as follows:

> As regards gunpowder, therefore, it is concluded that, firstly, no proof of its invention by the Chinese can be adduced; secondly, there is reason to believe that it may have been introduced from India or Central Asia about the fifth or sixth century of our era.

This is the result of an examination of Chinese authorities "performed with the utmost care" by a scholar whose recent death is a serious loss to the investigators of Chinese literature, and as the paper was first read in Shanghai and then published there in the midst of the chief critics of Chinese books, without any attempt at challenge, we are perfectly safe in adopting this as the real truth of the matter.

Now, this eminent scholar, Mr. Mayers, made a similar investigation as to the discovery of the mariner's compass, and came to the conclusion that that also the Chinese borrowed from the West. I regret

to say that the volume containing Mr. Mayers's paper on that subject is not in the Congressional Library, but the fact is nevertheless as I have stated. A glance at the Encyclopædia Britannica, under the headings of Compass and Gunpowder, will similarly show that that publication does not countenance the idea that the Chinese were the inventors, although the authors wrote apparently in ignorance of Mr. Mayers's investigations. Therefore, I conclude that the Chinese never gave us these discoveries, notwithstanding the sneers that I have seen in some newspapers since, and the confident tone with which the Senator questioned me as to who else could have made them. And I would say further, that there is scarcely a single piece of machinery howsoever useful, howsoever ingenious, working in China to-day. The only enterprise the Chinese have shown in the way of railroads has been in tearing up the only railroad ever built in that country, a railroad built by foreigners and afterward bought by the Chinese authorities in order that they might tear it up.

I did not intend, Mr. President, to-day to make any consecutive remarks, therefore if what I have said or may say shall seem desultory, the reason will be that I rose only to criticise statements taken here and there from the speeches of others. The Senator [Mr. HOAR] says:

> The doctrine that free institutions are a monopoly of the favored races, the doctrine that oppressed people may sever their old allegiance at will but have no right to find a new one, that the bird may fly but may never light, is of quite recent origin.

I have before said that this doctrine is of very recent origin—that a country is obliged to receive all persons that come and has no power to prevent them. The honorable Senator stigmatizes as of quite recent origin the doctrine "that free institutions are a monopoly of the favored races." Why, sir, he might as well say it is a new doctrine that vigor shall be monopolized by the strong races. Free institutions are only possible with the favored races. It is not because they are a monopoly of the favored races, but because no other race is capable of creating them; no other race is capable of perpetuating them; no other race is capable of treading freedom's heights with firm and unwavering step. As well might he say that the title of LL. D. and graduate of Harvard is not to be monopolized by the few who study in that institution four or five years. A monopoly, he says, of the favored races! The favored races, as I said before, are the only ones capable of free government; and it is because we monopolize the capability that we monopolize the free institutions.

Then he scouts at the idea that the bird may fly but may never alight. We all admit that the bird may fly if he is able, but he is not at liberty to alight in our nest without our permission. This race of ours has been struggling for centuries upon centuries for the principles of liberty. It found this country a wilderness. Our forefathers made great sacrifices to found the institutions which we enjoy. With unequaled valor they faced all the rude forces of nature; they confronted and overcame the wild Indian and the wild beast; they subdued the soil, and we, their descendants, on a hundred battle-fields have fought to preserve the precious inheritance bequeathed by them; and now, according to the ideas and doctrines of the Senator from Massachusetts and of the majority of the Senators from New England, we must take off our hats and make a bow across the western sea and say to these barbarians: You did not have the energy and the nerve and the determination to fit any country for yourselves; we have fitted this for you, and have done more to make it habitable in one century than you have done for

your country in fifty centuries; and now we beg you to come over here and enjoy it, even though your presence forces us to retire.

Again I read from the Senator's speech:

> There may be much that is wrong connected with the coming of these people from China, especially the importation of coolies. But let us in our statute use language which fitly describes the evil and would prevent, not language which strikes at the prerogative with which government has no right to interfere. It is not importation, but immigration; it is not importation, but the free coming; it is not the slave, or the apprentice, or the prostitute, or the leper, or the thief, but the laborer at whom this legislation strikes its blow.

Mr. President, under the theories of these gentlemen, how can they prevent the cooly from coming? Let us ask what a cooly is. A cooly in India or a cooly in China is simply a laborer. Has poverty got to be such a crime, I ask these gentlemen——

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator from Nevada allow me to say that when I used the term "cooly" I used it in its acceptation in this country—what its acceptation may be in India I do not know—that of a laborer imported by another person under a contract forced by his employer.

Mr. JONES, of Nevada. I intend to do the Senator full justice in that respect. I simply want to state, by the way, that the cooly is merely a laborer in India or in China, but according to the interpretation in this country a cooly is a man whose passage is paid to the United States by some one who has the money, and who in return receives the promise of the emigrant to repay the advance with interest either in money or labor after his arrival. In what particular does the Senator find anything wrong or contrary to public policy in this transaction? When did poverty get to be such a crime that this so-called inalienable birthright of coming to this country could be alienated for any such cause?

Does the Senator from Massachusetts wish to deprive any man of his inalienable rights merely because he is poor? Is it a crime if he has not the money to bring him here, if he borrows it from some one who is willing to advance it? Certainly when he gets here he is not a pauper, because whoever pays his passage would find it incumbent on himself in order to get his money back to find him employment as soon as he arrived.

Is there anything criminal in a contract like that? A large proportion of the immigration from Europe came here in that way; a large proportion of the emigration from the Eastern States to California went in that way, and yet in neither case did I ever hear of any forfeiture of rights on account of the immigrant having borrowed the passage-money, and it seems impossible that the Senator should maintain that the newly discovered inalienable birthright of the foreigner to leave his country and settle in whatever other country he chooses could be alienated for such a cause.

If so, it certainly is not so important a birthright as I thought it was. The pretext that his labor is owned by the contractor after he gets here is dissipated by the fact that there is no law in this country to enforce specific performance of any such contract, and therefore no greater harm could come by reason of the importation of contract coolies than of the coming of Chinese laborers at their own expense. Does the Senator know of any coolies being sent here from China against their will? If so, then I can understand that his objection to cooly importation would be good, but not because the person coming happens to be poor.

Then, I should like to know how, even if he be a pauper coming,

by what right this country deprives a pauper of his birthright? We can only deprive him of that birthright, if it be one, on the plea that his presence is injurious to the people of this country. Can we not then for the same reason prevent the coming of any and all whose presence we may deem injurious to our own welfare?

The honorable Senator from Massachusetts lays down the following proposition:

> The insertion of the phrase "the pursuit of happiness," in the enumeration of the natural rights for securing which government is ordained, and the denial of which constitutes just cause for its overthrow, was intended as an explicit affirmation that the right of every human being who obeys the equal laws to go everywhere on the surface of the earth that his welfare may require is beyond the rightful control of government. It is a birthright derived immediately from Him who "made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation." He made, so our fathers held, of one blood all the nations of men. He gave them the whole face of the earth whereon to dwell. He reserved for himself by his agents heat and cold, and climate, and soil, and water, and land to determine the bounds of their habitation.

The rights are to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Whoever attempts to pursue happiness must pursue it as the majority of the people in the country in which he lives determines that he can pursue it. Is it left to each individual to say how he will pursue happiness, without reference to the general law? As I think was said before in this discussion, we all agree that marriage is a civil contract needing only the voluntary consent of the parties thereto. If I should choose to make such civil contract with three or four persons of the opposite sex, they giving their voluntary consent thereto, all in the pursuit of happiness, by what right is it that the nation or the State can come in and obstruct the pursuit? Simply because it is the right and duty of the Government to legislate for the general good and to prescribe rules of marriage which restrict natural rights; and I may say here in passing that almost all the important rights we enjoy are artificial rights that have superseded natural rights. The rule, in my opinion, is that we may pursue happiness until we cross the line of the happiness of somebody else, and it is for the general good that the laws should indicate the limits within which the individual can pursue happiness.

The Senator from Massachusetts states that—

> By the census of 1880 the number of Chinese in this country was 105,000—one five-hundredth part of the whole population. The Chinese are the most easily governed race in the world. Yet every Chinaman in America has four hundred and ninety-nine Americans to control him.

I for one, speaking for the Pacific coast, have reason to be very grateful to the Senator from Massachusetts for allowing the population of Massachusetts to be counted in making this computation, even though they bear none of the burdens of that immigration. What sort of a computation would he think it was, how fair and how disingenuous a computation would he regard it, if a great contagion was sweeping over the Pacific States, and it should happen that one in three of the able-bodied population had perished, and that 105,000 had died in a few cities on that coast? Would he exclaim: "Only one hundred and five thousand; what is that? Just average them with the 50,000,000 people of the United States, and what you call a calamity will be shown to be utterly insignificant."

It is a wonder to me that he did not also embrace within his calculation all the rest of the civilized people of the world, in order to make the average look a little better than it does for his side of the question. Why, sir, the 105,000 have already occupied large portions

of that coast to the exclusion of our own people, and an average cannot be made of the whole United States, for the reason that the Chinese population have not distributed themselves on the principle of averages. If they had distributed themselves over the whole country they might in these numbers have been easily absorbed; they might create no great danger; but massed as they are on a limited area among the small population of white people living on our coast, they threaten the very existence of our institutions, and it is that of which we complain.

The honorable Senator [Mr. HOAR] asks:

> Will it be maintained that if California could have for nothing what she gets cheaply from Chinese labor, she would not be better off?—if the swamp lands had been made prairie lands by nature; if the ravines had been filled and mountains tunneled by nature, so that the road-bed was ready for the rail; if every man, instead of buying shoes from Massachusetts, had a pair left gratis at his door, that the State would not be better off? Is barren land or productive land best for a State? Then surely the laborer who does these things at least cost does most for the community, and gives the people who occupy the State opportunity for better profit in other fields of industry.

I regret to find in nearly every statement he makes against this bill that in treating of the American laborer he strikes a deadly blow at him while he extols him to the skies as being engaged in the most honorable calling in the world. Is it to be supposed that if the Chinese shall reclaim the swamp lands they will not occupy them? Is it to be supposed if they build tunnels they will not hold them? Is it to be supposed if they have the capacity for doing these things that they will not invade every other industrial pursuit? And when they have invaded all these industrial pursuits, where will be the American artisans and laborers? There will be no civilized community, but only a few rich employers on the one side and a large number of the most degraded kind of employés on the other.

The honorable Senator gives us to understand that there are certain kinds of laborers who will become subordinate to our laborers and lift them up to a higher level; that the Chinese are to be a substratum for all our laborers, each one of whom is to become an employer of Chinamen. Mr. President, it does not work that way. These are not the results we see. The Chinaman is not to be put off with the labor that we say he is fit for. He will apply for every species of labor that he can perform, and he will drive out of employment that large proportion of our population, namely, all our people who depend for their daily bread upon their daily toil in the grades of labor that he can pursue.

These gentlemen fail to tell us where our dispossessed laborers can go. The only way they can live is to descend to the abject condition of the Chinese. You cannot introduce Chinese wages and Chinese laborers without bringing in Chinese conditions, social and political.

I have noticed, Mr. President, that most of those who are in favor of the largest liberty being extended to the Chinese immigrant to this country are also in favor of a tariff—a tariff which has been urged as necessary to protect the American laborer from the degradation of competition with the pauper labor of Europe, as it is usually termed. In reality, if we may judge of their motives by the action of the men who are now advocating a tariff, it was not the American laborer they wished to protect against the pauper labor of Europe, but it was the American capitalist, the lordly manufacturer, that they wished to protect against the free competition of the capitalist of Europe. Our capitalist manufacturer wanted a larger interest on his money than the capitalist of Europe was willing to accept, and he was given the benefit of a tariff.

Let us see how that tariff works. It works in this wise: that everything that the capitalist manufacturer has to sell he sells in a protected market, he sells in a market in which foreign capitalists cannot compete with him.

How is it with what he has to buy? For the principal article he has to buy, to wit, the labor of men, he demands free trade in the broadest sense, not only free trade in bringing in laborers of our own race who can soon accommodate themselves to our conditions of life, but the bringing in a class of laborers who have been inured to poverty by thousands of years of training. The capitalist asks the broadest free trade for that, his own market in any event being protected.

Now, how is it with the laborer? Everything he wants to buy he has to buy from his capitalist master in a protected market; everything he has to sell, to wit, his labor, (and, unlike the capitalist, he cannot hold it away from sale; unlike the capitalist he cannot wait for better times or travel here and there where he pleases to sell it, but he must sell it every day,) he must sell in the openest market in the world. This is the theory in favor of the laborer that the gentleman propounds to us. We reject it, and by this bill propose to bar out this degrading, this shocking competition with our own people. And yet he tells us that we are striking a blow at labor, that we are proposing to inflict injury on the laborers of our country.

Ah! sir, when the artisans and laborers of this country shall be made to understand that they are subjected to free trade in labor they will demand as one of the conditions of their existence that they shall have an open market in which to buy that which they want if it is an open market in which they must sell their labor, the only thing they have to sell. They will never consent to a tariff on bales and boxes and hampers of goods coupled with free trade in human brain and muscle.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. DAWES] told us that he wanted the American people to know that this bill was a blow struck at labor. Yes, sir; it is a blow struck at degraded, under-paid, under-clothed, and under-fed labor, and it is a blow in favor of that fair remuneration which the forces of our civilization up to this hour have decreed that the laborer should get. There never was a greater fallacy than that cheap labor is a source of wealth to any country; on the contrary, the facts show that in every country where cheap labor is found there the greatest poverty prevails, there the conditions of abject dependence are most abundant, and there will be found misery and want, and not wealth and comfort. If cheap labor is the great source of wealth to a country, why ought not China, which to-day is a poor country, to be the richest in the world? You have three hundred million laborers in China that can be had to work for the merest pittance.

If our capitalists, jealous of the way in which our workmen with their increased intelligence combine in order to get their fair share of the results of protection, should attempt to introduce this new supply of cheap laborers, or, as the Senator very tenderly said, bring in "the little brown man" as a sort of counter-balance to the trades-unions of this country, I suggest that the American laborers will see to it that no "little brown man" is brought in. They may agree to the incoming and to the competition of European laborers, men of their own race, who, while they increase the supply of labor, also increase in nearly as great a proportion the demand for the products of labor. On the other hand, while the incoming of the honorable Senator's "little brown man" tends to glut the labor market to the

full extent of his increased numbers, to nothing like the same extent as the European does he increase the demand for products. To allow free admission to the products of foreign labor would not be to the interest of the capitalist manufacturer; and shall it be tolerated that when our laborers combine to get the fair remuneration of their labor, "the little brown man" of the honorable Senator from Massachusetts shall be introduced to coerce them into accepting much less than this fair remuneration to which they are entitled. The American laborer has come to understand this, and he will never tolerate the immigration or importation of the "little brown man," who would be used as an instrument for his own destruction.

If I were to admit, which I cannot, that all races have a natural right to come to this country without our consent and without our being able to prohibit them, then I should be obliged to admit that the same natural law gave the same right of access to this country to the products of the labor of all races. But I deny both propositions. The laborers of foreign countries have no more right to come here independently of our will than have the products of their labor, the admission of which at our ports has always been under our own exclusive control.

We claim the right to exclude the Chinese from our shores, because if we were to permit them to come at their own will they would never cease to come until the industrial conditions in China and the United States were equalized.

I said a few moments ago that there never was a greater fallacy than that cheap labor is a source of wealth. It affords, perhaps, a temporary advantage, but at the sacrifice of vastly greater advantages in the long run. The true mode of increasing production and of diminishing the cost of production is to increase human command over the forces of nature. It is in that way that it is possible to have at one and the same time a larger profit for capital and a better remuneration for workmen. The contrary method of using cheap labor puts an end to labor-saving inventions, by diminishing the motive for them and by reducing laborers to a condition which takes away their capacity to invent. It is nevertheless true that men will generally seek a temporary advantage unless the policy of the laws restrains them to a course dictated by the permanent interests of a country. I believe somewhat in a tariff. I think our manufacturing capitalists should be protected, provided always that the laborers they employ have their fair share of the results of the protection. But if the purchase of American goods at somewhat higher prices than those at which similar foreign goods could be purchased was left to individual option, foreign goods would completely command the market. The protection to American capital and labor must be given by the coercion of law if at all.

If from the wealth of this or any other country, as it is exhibited by statisticians or appraised for taxation purposes, we deduct that part of the valuation of lands which results solely from density of population and is independent of the improvements put upon them, what remains is insignificant in comparison with the value, even if estimated in a merely monetary point of view, of the original native intellectual power, cultivation, science, and arts of the population. It has been estimated that the average stock of all the things which make up the food and clothing of mankind does not exceed the consumption for six months. Wealth consists more in the power of production than in accumulations of what has been produced. It will thus be apparent that a deterioration by a very moderate per-

centage of the character and force of a population by intermixing with it an inferior race may involve a greater national loss of wealth, and that of the most reliable and permanent form, than all which can be gained by employers from a reduction of wages.

How transitory as well as trivial is the advantage, such as it is, of cheap labor, when obtained by the introduction and employment of essentially inferior races, will be made clear by contrasting the present condition of the English-speaking people in Great Britain and in this country, with what we can plainly see it would now be if at the date of the American Revolution it had been the policy of the whole of those people, as it was of a small part of them in our Southern States, to draw their laborers from the heathen and benighted quarters of the globe. There was undoubtedly a temptation to do that, from the fact that an equal amount of work could be extorted from such laborers for less pay; or, to express the same fact in other words, that of the results of the work of such laborers a greater proportion could be made to inure to the benefit of their employers, or of their owners, if a system of slavery was adopted.

The case is a supposable one, although it fortunately did not in fact occur, that the property and employing classes, the persons who had money to expend for either consumption or production purposes in both Great Britain and in the northern as well as in the southern American colonies, (now States,) might have been in 1775 dissatisfied with the rates of wages they were being obliged to pay, and might have sought a remedy in importations of some part of the teeming millions of Africa and Asia, to be made use of under some one of the many forms and modifications of servitude.

Without doubt the remedy would have been temporarily an efficient one, but at what an immeasurably greater sacrifice of the permanent and lasting interest of the English-speaking employers and property classes of 1775, and of their posterity. No less a sacrifice than that of the greater part, and perhaps of all of the inventions and discoveries of the English-speaking race during the past century—the steam-engine, the spinning-jenny, the loom, the cotton-gin, the effectual use of coal in making iron, the railroad, the steamship, the electric telegraph, the steam printing-press, the sewing-machine, and the other innumerable advances in science and art which have, during that memorable epoch, illustrated the powers of the human mind, subjected the forces of nature to the control and uses of man, given dignity and enjoyment to life, and, looking merely to material and pecuniary results, have created an aggregate magnitude of wealth unknown and impossible to the highest degrees of African and Asiatic civilization, while they have secured to the wealthier classes and the wage-earning classes a command over both necessaries and luxuries unknown and impossible to former times under any form of civilization.

The introduction of the cheap labor of an inferior race in 1775 would have arrested progress in every part of the British dominions as it did in the British southern colonies (now States) on this continent. The presence of an inferior race either inevitably expels the superior race or reduces it to the ways, modes of life, and all the other conditions of the new-comers.

The principal motive to improvements is that of saving labor. This motive is sensibly weakened and almost destroyed when workmen can be had at the price of the scantiest subsistence. Furthermore, the general employment of laborers of an inferior race cuts off all that largest proportion of inventions which originate in the suggestions of workmen themselves.

No improvements or inventions are to be looked for either from such laborers or from the free laborers of the superior race, inasmuch as the constant tendency must be to a level of condition between both these classes. A scale of wages graduated to the bare support of life imposes a duration of daily toil which exhausts all the physical and mental vitality of the laborer, leaves no time or strength for reflective thought, and completely represses the exercise of the inventive faculty, even when it exists.

No, Mr. President, the wealth of a country does not consist in the bushels of wheat, in the tons of coal and iron, or in the commodities generally that it possesses. No wealth is possible without intelligence. Let a white man go with a mountain of gold into the center of Africa and Asia, and has he any considerable wealth? Are any of the conditions of wealth around him? None whatever. He has got to import intelligence there, without which no important accumulation of wealth can possibly be effected. Does anybody tell me that you can introduce a lower order of people into a country without affecting the higher orders? Can a current of barbarism be permitted to flow into this country without affecting the white people for the worse? You may lift up the barbarous people above their dull, dead inanity, but do you not drag us down correspondingly?

Sir, I am in favor of this bill because I believe it to be an advance in public law, making it conform to the law that nature has written on the face of the physical universe and upon the face of man. Does anybody suppose for an instant that if the African were not in this country to-day we should be anxious to welcome him? Does any reflecting man believe that he is an advantage to this country? Is it not true if his place were occupied by smaller numbers of intelligent men of our own creative race that the country would be stronger than it is? What caused the intellectual stagnation that was observable everywhere in the South outside of politics, the bar, and the pulpit?

Look at the dearth in our Patent Office of names from the Southern States. Why was it? Because a servile race was performing the labor of those States, making it dishonorable there; and because few or none of the laborers of that region belonged to this great creative race, who alone could have given the stimulus to the material development of the Southern States which they have given to that of the Northern States.

Does anybody pretend to tell me that it is a blessing to this country that those people are here? It is no fault of ours that they are here; it is no fault of theirs; it is the fault of a past generation; but their presence here is a great misfortune to us to-day, and the question of the adjustment of the relations between the two races socially and politically is no nearer to a settlement now than it was the day Sumter was fired upon.

The philosophy of the history of every age and our experience of the last seventeen years justify me in making the prophecy that the African race will never be permitted permanently to dominate any State of the South. The experiment of conferring upon them political power in proportion to their numbers has thus far proved a dismal failure, and in my judgment will so continue as long as human nature is as it is. The failure has not been because we have not done everything we could to make it succeed, but because laws independent of and above all human laws have irrevocably stamped upon the one race its superiority over the other.

Intellect and intelligence are forces in this world often greater than

numbers. It makes no difference what votes you put in a ballot-box, how many little white pellets of paper that signify one thing and dark pellets of paper that signify another. Those pellets of paper in that box which represent a majority of force will in the end rule even if they be a minority of numbers. If contrary to my expectations the colored race should permanently secure the control of any of the States of the South, and the whites should tire of trying to overcome the majority of numbers by force or intimidation, I predict that they would migrate to the State where their own race was in the majority. I have nothing but the very kindliest feeling toward the negro which is intensified by the recollection of the oppression he has suffered at the hands of my own race, and never would I consciously do him an injustice. The negro possesses in a marked degree all the humane and affectionate sympathies. He easily becomes attached to those with whom he lives and is loyal to them. He adopts our customs and is proud to imitate them, instead of taking a pride, as the Chinaman does, in adhering to his own national habits. To the extent of his capacity for improvement he has a willingness and even ambition to improve himself, instead of shutting himself up as the Chinaman does, with an indomitable self-conceit within the limit of present attainments. The negroes now in this country were born in it; they speak our language; they have the same religion, and they recognize the same standard and code of morals. Considering how their race was brought here, and how admirably well they have borne themselves during and since their transition from servitude to freedom, we owe them not merely justice but kindness. My warmest sympathies have always been with them, and always will be. I was first, last, and all the time for their emancipation, and trust that I shall never fail to assist in securing for them all the rights and the highest advancement which are possible to them. I cannot but feel admiration for the acquirements which many of them have made under difficult and depressing circumstances, and I have no doubt that their race is capable under our leadership of attaining a much higher than their present development.

We clothed the African with the blue uniform of his country which he never disgraced. His instincts were against the men who held him in slavery. When the war of the rebellion broke out he knew intuitively which side would strike the shackles from his limbs, and with fervent enthusiasm and unwavering fidelity he espoused their cause. That he would do so was eloquently prefigured fifty years ago in a speech of Governor McDowell, of Virginia, in which, advocating the gradual emancipation of the slave, he said:

> You may chain the African like an ox to his task; you may teach him that he works only to live, and that he lives only to work, and that his destiny is to be a slave; but the idea that he is one day to be free is a candle lit in his soul by the hand of Deity not to be extinguished by the hand of man.

There never were more truthful words spoken; but it is one thing to aspire to be free from personal servitude and a very different thing to have the intelligence, the self-containment, the great qualities of character that can direct and support free government. Does anybody believe if the restraining, the directing, the guiding intellect of the white man that now surrounds the African in the South were entirely taken away and he was left to maintain our institutions alone, that he could do it? I do not know how my friends on this side of the House may feel, but I for one do not believe that they could be maintained without impairment for a period of ten years. This

judgment may seem to some to be harsh and unwarranted, but it is the truth as I see it.

Suppose, then, that when the first ship-load of Africans was landed in this country some one had risen on the floor of one of the assemblies of the States and opposed their landing because they would in the end prove the source of immense disturbance in the country, because their presence would occasion a great civil war, because they would produce precisely the effects we have since seen that they have produced in the South, how true these views would have been, though doubtless they would have been regarded as groundless and fanciful alarms. And, digressing for one minute, I ask Senators to reflect what would have been the condition of this entire country if the same proportion of Africans had been in the North as were in the South? I say, then, suppose that objecting to this immigration because it was the immigration of an incongruous race, of a race that could not assimilate or amalgamate with us, this speaker had urged the exclusion of the negro from our country, he would have uttered wise words and given sound advice. How delusive would have been the rejoinder, in the light of our experience, of any one who might have said:

> We have broad fields and extensive areas where cotton, tobacco, and sugar can be raised; and it is for our common advantage to bring in these negroes and obtain the benefit of their cheap labor.

A similar rejoinder, and one equally delusive, is to-day made to the facts and arguments in support of a measure to prevent the immigration of the Chinese, an immigration that threatens evils more portentous than could result from the importation of the African. The skill of the Chinese enables them to invade more of the industrial pursuits than the negro is capable of invading. Deft and subtle and able in manipulation, the Chinaman can be utilized in almost any kind of a factory; but his race is socially more incongruous to ours and less capable of assimilation with us than is the negro race.

In dealing with the Chinese we are dealing with a race whose historical existence of fifty centuries shows that they have outlived all contemporaneous nations, and during that immense period have never been able to rise from the ranks of semi-barbarism. The reason of this unexampled national longevity is that they have been a race by themselves, a homogeneous race, and tenacious of their homogeneity. When once or twice conquered by the Tartars of the North, a nation closely resembling themselves, they imposed their customs, their laws, their institutions, and their beliefs on the conqueror, thus ultimately subduing him by the force and tenacity of their peculiar systems.

What encouragement do we find in the history of our dealings with the negro race or in our dealings with the Indian race to induce us to permit another race-struggle in our midst? It is because the inhabitants of the Pacific coast are in favor of civilization, because they are in favor of our civilization, and not of some other civilization, that they oppose the further incoming of the Chinese. They believe in maintaining the homogeneity of our population, and they believe that on that homogeneity depends the permanence of our institutions, depends our progress and everything upon which we build our hopes.

Mr. President, when I rose to my feet, without having any prepared speech, I did not intend to say as much as I have said. I simply desired to present a few of the considerations that impel the people of the Pacific coast to conjure their brethren in other parts of the coun-

try to come to their assistance against this tidal wave of barbarism, that is not averaging itself over the United States generally so as to be easily absorbed, but which is massing itself on our western borders. It is invading one industry after another and driving our own people out, and has already taken possession of the vine, of the fig-tree, of the wheat-field, and of every avenue of manufacture. I make this earnest appeal not because the white man has not the physical and intellectual power to compete with the Chinaman, but because with the qualities which the white man possesses, with his civilization, with his lineage, with the blood that flows in his veins, he disdains to abandon his present condition of life and to descend to the degrading level of Chinese labor and Chinese wages, and to the unrelieved and barbarous penury of Chinese daily life.

We appeal to Senators to stand by the judgment of 154,000 of their fellow-citizens, spoken without passion, spoken without vindictiveness; 154,000 people, as against only 1,100 votes that could be obtained in favor of this immigration on a secret ballot. Why such universal concurrence of opinion on a question like this? The people of the Pacific coast are not a provincial people; they do not speak the prejudices of a section, they are made up of emigrants from every city and State of this Union and from the leading countries of Europe, so that they are in a very marked degree a cosmopolitan people.

At first they had no objection to Chinese immigration, because they had no experience with it. They now see what it will inevitably result in. They are not so unreasonable as to say that the interests of the Pacific coast are destroyed now by the 105,000 Chinese there, but they see that the industries of that coast will, if this immigration be continued, be inevitably destroyed for our own people; and they ask Congress to check this evil while it is within moderate and controllable limits, for if the rest of the United States should contain as great a proportion of Chinese as are now in California the evil would be too large to be peacefully dealt with and it might occasion another civil war which, unlike the last, would carry the horrors of an intestine struggle into every part of the country.

I trust, Mr. President, that the views of that coast will not be misapprehended, will not be misinterpreted. It is because they are in favor of our own civilization; it is because they are in favor of the homogeneity of our population and citizenship; it is because they are in favor of labor with rewards such as the forces of our society have given to it, that they oppose the incoming of the barbarous hordes from semi-civilized Asia.

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